

REMARKS
ON THE
Barrier-Treaty
VINDICATED.
IN A
LETTER
TO THE
AUTHOR.

L O N D O N;

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REMARKS
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Barrier-Treaty

LETTER

TO THE
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REMARKS

ON THE

Barrier-Treaty

VINDICATED.

SIR,

IN your Introduction you tell the Reader, that there are some Things at which you are very much surpriz'd, others which you cou'd not but think very strange, and some which you receiv'd to your great Surprize; now, Sir, I heard all these Things (so slow are some Men in their Apprehensions) and was not at all surpriz'd at 'em; and if any Thing created a Wonder in me, it was, that a Person of your Knowledge in the World shou'd have so much Ignorance, or rather that one of your Sincerity shou'd put on such a Face of it. That which shocks you

most, if I rightly understand your Meaning, is, that the Settlement of the Crown of *Britain* in the Protestant Line shou'd constitute the principal Glory of a former Reign, and that the securing this Settlement shou'd be the first avow'd Dishonour of the present; here I shall only put you in Mind of the Battles of the *Boyne*, *Landen*, *Steenkirk*, the Acts of Parliament made for preserving the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, and the Treaty of *Reswick*; for to recount all the glorious Deeds of him, of pious Memory, wou'd be tedious; and whether any Thing has been done in this Reign dishonourable (besides what is avow'd to be so) I say not; and desire you will determine for me whether I shall be shock'd or not, and at what. Before you fall upon the Argument of your Book, you pronounce the King of *France* our Enemy, and the *Dutch* our Friends and Allies; and your own Nation (Part of it I shou'd say) are deluded, dangerously infatuated, and betray'd by the Arts of designing Men. To these pretty little Appellations, Sir, I submit; and the Men of Design (I suppose you mean the Present Ministry) are answerable for the Arts which they have us'd, if they have us'd any unfair Ones; so I shall only bespeak yours, and the Readers Excuse, if it shou'd happen, that I don't so frequently call Names, pronounce so magisterially, or so universally condemn, as some others have done. Whether this Disposition in me proceeds from a general Respect

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Respect which I have to my Superiours, or from a Spice of good Nature, or perhaps good Manners, and whether the contrary to this comes not from a Want of all or any of these Virtues, I had much rather you shou'd find out than I tell you.

The Intent of your Book is to set your Country-men right in their Notion of the *Barrier-Treaty*; not with any Design to vindicate the Minister that negotiated it, or those who advis'd the Ratification of it, but purely to establish your own Opinion, which the Nation must needs think to be of the last Importance, when they don't so much as know your Name; and this you propose to do by shewing the Necessity of a foreign Alliance to maintain the Protestant Succession in *Britain*, and of a strong Barrier to cover *Flanders*. The first Thing which you lay down is, That the Protestant Succession is of the greatest Consequence to *Britain*, wherein I can't do otherwise than agree with you; observing by the way, that the Arguments, by which you prove this Position, if there was need of any, don't prove that the Princess *Sophia*, or the Elector of *Hanover*, must of Necessity be that Protestant Prince; for if there shou'd be any other Protestant Prince of the Royal Blood, he might (so far, I mean, as your Argument goes) claim a Title to the Succession. I wou'd not have you infer from hence, that I wou'd derogate any thing from the Title or Character of that Illustrious Family, tho' if you shou'd, I'm prepar'd strenuously to deny any such Intention,

for

for there may be a Season when a proper Use shall be made of this Observation: Nor can you, with Justice, object, that I speak in Favour of the Pretender, when I tell you that your Harangue on this Head against him might as well have been omitted. What you say here, carries with it only some personal Reflexions on him, mix'd with some against the King of *France*: Now granting these to be all true, and as strong as you can desire, I must confess, I don't see how they conclude any thing against a Popish Successor in general; for if one be as great a Fool or Villain as you picture him, I think 'twill hardly follow that all are so, and therefore this Declaration is in my poor Judgment nothing to the present Purpose. However, 'tis a popular Theme, a belov'd Topick with some People, to throw Dirt on the King of *France*, to rail at *Popery*, and cry out the Pretender; and at the same time their *High* and *Mightinesses* are almost Gods; and a Man runs a Hazard of his Reputation, at least, that makes any Question about *Dutch* Honesty, or *Dutch* Religion.

But be that as 'twill, since we are agreed on the Necessity of a Protestant Successor, let us see how that creates a Necessity of this *Barrier-Treaty*, which you endeavour to make good, by proceeding to shew: First, that the Succession under its present Circumstances can't be effectually secur'd otherwise, than by a foreign Alliance. Secondly, that no Alliance is so useful to that Purpose, as that
of

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of the *States*. And Thirdly, That the Objections made against Securing it by such an Alliance are not valid.

In order to prove your first Proposition, you lay down, that there is a Person living who pretends to disturb this Settlement, that he is favour'd by no inconsiderable Party in *Britain*, and supported by the greatest Power in *Europe*. The first to be sure is true, and so like to continue, for I can't suppose that the Gentleman you speak of will quit his Pretences whilst he is made to believe that there's no inconsiderable Party here to favour him; but I don't perceive what Use you make of this Party in the present Debate, tho' if you'll give me Leave to frame your Argument for you, it must stand thus: The Tories and High-Churchmen are in Part or in Whole (if I say less, the Party will be so weak as not to go a Step forward) are in the Interest of this Pretender; the Interest of the Pretender and that of the *Dutch* is inconsistent; therefore the *Dutch* ought to have a Garrison in *Lisle*. With Submission, Sir, this Garrison will do us no Service against the Party at Home, so if you please we'll conclude the Syllogism thus, therefore the *Dutch* ought to have a Garrison in *Portsmouth*; and that their Barrier may be secure, pray let 'em have all the Towns between *Plimouth* and *Southampton*, for a continued Line of Towns is absolutely necessary to cover them against so formidable an Enemy; but with more than one single Line
of

of Towns, tho' you think one only not sufficient to secure a Country, I doubt the Nation has it not in its Power to oblige you. After all, 'tis possible that I have been attempting to make out something which you did not design, that is, this to be Argument which was thrown only by way of Dirt; if so, I wou'd beg a Favour of you, which you may grant without much endangering the fouling your Hands, to wipe off again what you can perceive left on. When I know how considerable or rather inconsiderable this Party is in your Opinion, I shall be able to form a better Judgment what Use you can make of it. In the meantime, it may suffice to say, that if 'tis large enough only to make a Scare-Crow of, the Substraction of ten Towns from the Barrier in *Flanders* won't add so much Force to it, so as it shall be able to make the Thing we spoke of a King; nor on the other side, if it be strong enough to make that same Gentleman a King, will the Addition of ten Towns to our Friends the *Dutch* avail any Thing tow'rs the hindring it; I shou'd add, unless you suppose those Forces will come over from thence to support our Laws and Liberties, which I can hardly persuade myself that ev'n you wou'd desire to see here without Invitation.

To go on to the Person, whom I suppose you look upon as the chief Support of the Cause of the Pretender, the King of *France* I mean; and on this Head you tell us, that
neither

neither his most formal Acknowledgments, nor his strongest Promises and Engagements, are of any Weight, when he stipulates to send the Pretender out of his Dominions, and to give him no Assistance against *Britain*. This I confess is very plain *English*, especially when spoken of a crown'd Head, and whom you insinuate to be in Alliance with us; and if the Truth were as plain, I doubt not but you have taken Care (as a good Subject ought to do) that Her Majesty and Her Ministry are made acquainted with it, for fear of some— This Language, however, amongst Friends may pass well enough; and for the present, we'll suppose that the King of *France's* Word is not to be confided, and that 'tis his Design and Interest to disturb our Settlement. The Debate is about the Succession, if I rightly apprehend you, and not about Her present Majesty's Possession, for in relation to that I don't perceive you are under any manner of Concern; now I think 'tis possible, nay morally probable, I might add, according to the common Course of Nature, it is certain, that the King of *France* will be in his Grave long before this Matter can come into Controversy, and then you'll have no Opportunity to try whether he'll violate his Faith or not. And if this shou'd happen, which I hope you will allow me to wish for, and to say is very likely to be the Case, that Her Majesty will survive the old Gentleman at *Paris*; you may then talk, or write, or preach from *June* to *January*, and from *Dan*

to *Bersheba* if you think fit, but will hardly persuade any one to believe that we shall have Reason to apprehend any Danger from *France* under those Circumstances. For if we consider the Animosities, Feuds, and Commotions which have generally been in that Kingdom, and its Court, during the Minority of its Prince, and I think there's no Appearance that they are likely to be other now than formerly, I don't see how we can conclude less than that the King, without troubling himself with our Succession, or any other Affairs relating to *Britain*, will be sufficiently employ'd to maintain his own Peace at Home. But if you are resolv'd to think that the *French* Ministers, whoever governs there, and notwithstanding any Divisions which may arise amongst 'em, will yet join in consulting the Interest of *France*, in enlarging its Dominions, and grasping at Universal Monarchy; and that the Ministers of all the other Potentates of *Europe* will contribute their Endeavours tow'rds promoting their Design, at least sit still unconcern'd at the Event, careless of their own Countries, and of their Liberties and Estates; I know no Remedy for such Suspicions which you'll care to hear of from my Hands, but I hope you'll excuse me if I don't vex myself with Fears to me seeming groundless, and Jealousies for which no Occasion appears.

But

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But if the present King shou'd live some Years, and it shou'd be necessary for us to trust to the Treaties which he has or shall make with us, I can't with Justice think him so far abandon'd to common Honesty, as to break through 'em without Reason; and I must ask your Pardon if I don't agree with you, that the Treaty of *Reswick* is a good Instance of his Breach of his Contracts; and I am as much at liberty to suppose, that he will now in his declining Years consult the Peace and Quiet of himself and his People by keeping his Word, as you are to suppose that he'll break it to gratify his Superstition or his Vanity. But if you think otherwise, I may reasonably desire that you wou'd assign a Reason why his Most Christian Majesty's Engagements shou'd be thought to have any Force three or four Years ago, which will not be a Reason why those he has or shall enter into now shou'd not be thought of equal Force. With respect to *Britain*, and when we are speaking of our Succession, our Interest is chiefly to be consider'd, 'twill not be sufficient to say that by the Negotiations then on Foot ample Security was provided for the Allies in general, and that on those Terms the Balance of *Europe* wou'd have been well asserted, if ev'n that cou'd be truly said; because what was added to *Britain* by the Scheme of Peace then intended was so inconsiderable a Weight, that we shou'd not by that only have been

much (if at all) better able to perform our Part in preserving that Balance, much less to maintain our Settlement; so that We rely'd on the King of *France's* Word and Good-Nature, whatever the rest of the Confederates did.

After all, I must confess, that real Security (where it may reasonably be had) must be more safe than bare Words, ev'n from a Person whose Words we have no Reason to make any doubt of; on which Account I'm better satisfy'd to find *Dunkirk* in our Possession in order to its Demolition, than to hear that it was stipulated by a Preliminary Treaty that it shou'd be demolish'd. And I can't forbear thinking, that *St. Christophers*, *Hudsons-Bay*, *Newfoundland*, *Port-Mahon*, and *Gibraltar*, are more certainly ours when in our Hands, than if the Possession of 'em was to depend on Articles, tho' there shou'd be forty of 'em; tho' by the way I don't remember that we had so much as a *Dutch* Assurance given, that in the Treaty which was to have ensu'd, the *States* wou'd have us'd their Endeavours to serve Her Majesty in relation to the three last Places.

What you alledge against Depending on Treaties made with the King of *France*, has another Fault, equally bad with the former; for 'tis not only an Objection against Treating with him now at *Utrecht*, and before at *Gertruydenbergh*, but will be a Reason against ever Treating with him; the Consequence of which

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which is, that we must continue this War till we have humbled his Majesty into his Grave, or, if Success shou'd extraordinarily attend our Arms, we must pursue him till we can pull him out of his Throne. Truly, I'm much inclin'd to think that his Bigottry, his inveterate Hatred to the Protestant Religion, and his settled Design of bringing us to wear his Yoke, will hardly depart before he does; and so long as they last, so long you know the Foundation of our Fear will remain: And this I'm sure of, that whilst he lives, at least, there will certainly be Persons found to cry out, *Popery and Arbitrary Power*; and to affix charitable and endearing Names on the Opinions and Complexions they don't like. I was saying, Sir, that in order to the treating with this Prince, in Consequence of which, we must in some measure have confided in his Engagements, it might suffice to drive him from *Paris*, and his Throne there; but now I perceive he has so many ill Qualities, and such Habits of Vice, for which too he does expect Credit on Earth, and Merit in Heaven, and therefore ought not to be suspected of ever quitting, that I doubt whether any Remedy will be large enough to cure our Evils, if it be less than the beating out his Brains, and sending him forthwith to the Devil. 'Tis whisper'd about already, tho' I don't hear that the Confederate Forces have taken up their Winter-Quarters in *Picardy*, or that they

they intend to plunder *Paris* the next Campaign, that if his Majesty shou'd be forc'd to fly his Kingdom of *France*, he will, with some trusty Friends, retire into his other of *Spain*; which if he does, and carries along with him his old Princess, of which no Doubt is to be made, we shall only have shifted the Scene, and alter'd the Circumstances of our Fear: Immediately the Riches of *Spain*, and the *West-Indies* will flow in upon him, the Trade of *Britain* thither, and to the *Mediterranean* will be entirely lost, and we shall instantly be reduc'd to Beggary, and being unable to maintain our Legal Settlement, we shall embrace the Pretender, and so downright we go into the unsatiable Gulph of Popery and Slavery.

This, I confess, is a dismal Prospect; but then I'm encourag'd by considering that 'tis necessary to prove, not only that the King of *France* is a Knave and a Rascal, which you are able to do, at least, stoutly to affirm; but you must shew likewise, that 'tis his Interest to disturb our Succession, otherwise you will make him out to be a Fool, which I don't find you have asserted, or so much as for Argument-sake suggested. You tell us, indeed, 'tis his Interest to support the Pretender, in order to perpetuate our Divisions in *Britain*, and his Vanity will prompt him to restore Popery here; and you might have told us, for 'tis equally true, that our QUEEN has a Title to the Crown of *France*; and

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and if I may be allow'd to suppose, what your Argument frequently does, that in case the present *Dauphin* of *France* dies without Issue, there will be two Pretenders to that Crown, for I know you have no Faith in King *Philip's* Renunciation; and farther, that the *Protestants* in *France* are (in Proportion to the Number of People) as numerous as the *Roman-Catholicks* in *England*: The Consequence of this will be, that the King of *France* has as much Reason to desire the *Dutch* to be Guarantees of the Succession there, as we had that they shou'd be Guarantees of ours; tho' for the gaining that important Point, I doubt he'll hardly grant so large a Barrier as we have done. If, indeed, you can conceive that 'tis not our Interest to raise or continue Animosities in the Court of *France* and *Spain*, or between both the Courts, and the *QUEEN*, or Ministry here are not able, or willing to meddle in their Affairs, whilst the *French* are busy and intriguing in ours, and that Her Majesty will not be as zealous for stablishing the Protestant Religion in *France*, as *Lewis* will be for restoring the Popish in *Britain*; which last I can't forbear thinking (notwithstanding the Noise and Clamor lately made) to be as likely to be taken Care of in the present Reign, as it was in one not long since past, and that it will fare as well at *Utrecht*, as it did at *Reswick*; if you will assert all these Things, I must acknowledge then my Consequence to be nought.

But

But if my Consequence and Premises too shou'd be wrong, and yours both of them right, yet they don't contain enough, unless they prove that the King of *France* will send over the Pretender with an Army; for I can't conceive that the Strength of the *Dutch* on the Frontiers of *France* will be of any Service to us, in any other case than that of an Invasion. You can't believe, any more than I do, that a strong Barrier in *Flanders* in the Possession of the *States* will abolish the Names of Whig and Tory, or take away the Distinction of High-Church and Low-Church in *England*, or that it will hinder the *French* from exercising their Politicks in our Court, nor that a Garrison in *Lisle* (paid by the *States* of *Holland*) will avail any Thing tow'rds preventing the Growth of Popery in the City of *London*, or any where else in this Kingdom; and that's all the Use which I can perceive you make of these Assertions in the present Argument. If you had gone farther, and from them had inferr'd that it was necessary that the Guards and Garrisons in *Great-Britain* shou'd be all *Dutch* Protestants, I don't know but that I might have given into your Scheme; for an Army of such Soldiers, all good Men and true, dispos'd after that manner, wou'd be of infinitely greater Service to the End here mention'd, than the same Body wheresoever plac'd in the *Netherlands* cou'd do.

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In short, Sir, I think if your Proposition proves any Thing more than too little, it proves too much; but granting that it makes out just so much, and no more than you desire, *viz.* that the King of *France* (if he were able) wou'd support the Pretender in making an Invasion upon us; yet there's a Difficulty upon him not yet consider'd, which may make it not to be his Interest. Whether *England* in such a Case wou'd not be a Match for him, by itself, shall be examin'd under another Head; and at present, supposing our Condition not to be so good, yet I deny that 'twill be his Interest to attempt the Disturbance of our Succession in an open Manner, and against any other what you propose is no better Security, than what we were possess'd of before. I lay down these Things, and I promise myself your ready Assent to 'em; That by the Peace now in Agitation, and perhaps concluded, a Barrier, such as it is, is assur'd to the *Dutch* in *Flanders*; That this in your and their Judgments is not a sufficient Security for them in all Events; That the Treaty now in Dispute, by reducing the *French* too near the State in which they were left by that of the *Pyrenees*, has provided a full Defence for the *Dutch*; and, That as *France* still retains its inveterate Hatred and Design on the *Netherlands*, so the Seven United-Provinces wou'd not refuse on a good Offer the other Ten Provinces either as a Barrier or

as Dominion. Now to me it appears very evident, that if the *Dutch* are put into the Circumstances which they wou'd by this Treaty, which they desire, and you contend for; it wou'd no longer be in our Power, nor wou'd it be our Interest to prejudice the *French* on the Side of *Flanders*, nor cou'd we lay any Obligation on the *Dutch* by advantageous Offers there; and on the contrary, in the Condition in which the present Peace will in all Probability leave each of the Parties, we shall retain an Influence over each of 'em, so that the one shall be glad to assist us, and the other not to oppose us. I desire, Sir, you wou'd resolve me one Question; whether 'tis not more likely, that the *Dutch* (in case of an Invasion on us by *France*) will fall into Measures with us, in Hopes, and upon a Stipulation for a second Line of Towns for a Barrier in *Flanders*, and to preserve the Protestant Religion here, than that they'll assist us purely to save that which perhaps they'll think or pretend to think in no Danger, and to get dry Blows? I have heard some malicious Persons say, (for my own part, I can pretend to no Knowledge,) that if a certain Person had not had the Crown of *England* more at Heart, than he had the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, and the Preservation of our Laws and Liberties, they had e'er now been lost. On the other side, whether the *French* won't be more fearful
of

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of making an Attempt on us, whilst they are under Apprehension that the *Dutch* will join with us to take from them the Towns which the one knows full well the other has a Mind to, and are able to get with our Assistance, than when they see their High and Mightinesses can have no immediate Interest or Design to meddle in our Quarrel; unless you will suppose they might think of enlarging their Borders to the Walls of *Paris*. Upon the whole, I conclude; considering what State both Nations will be put into by the Terms of Peace, and how much we shall have the *Dutch* at command, and thereby be able to prejudice King *Lewis* in that which he is possess'd of now in that Country, and hinder his farther Designs there, I confess it seems to me not to be his Interest to make any forceable Attack on our Settlement.

But if any such shou'd be made, I'm of the Mind with those Persons who think we shou'd be able to defend ourselves by our own Strength, and to repel Force by Force; and that's the only Dispute proper on this Head, what the one Nation and the other can do by down-right Arms. You tell us here, that some Writers represent *Britain* so rich and powerful, as to begin a War with the *Dutch*; and at the same time so poor and weak, as to make an ill Peace with *France*; that the Peace which is making, or made with *France*, is an ill Peace, does

not yet appear, and I will suppose that the QUEEN makes none but what is a good One, at least, till it appears not to be so; but if 'tis possible, that a Country may be able to raise three Millions of Money in a Year, and yet not to raise six or seven, and that the less Sum may suffice to carry on one War, and to continue the other the greater will be necessary; 'tis possible too, that they who represent us thus, may manifest as much Regard to Truth, as those who tell 'em they manifest none. But of these Concessions you will make no Use; in which, I think, you act justly, because they are really nothing to the Purpose; whether wisely or no, since your Proof without 'em is defective, I say not. Our Experience of two long Wars has convinc'd us, and will our Posterity too, that a Country invading may be reduc'd to Poverty, whilst that invaded shall be ----- in what Condition you please to suppose it; and if his Most Christian Majesty shou'd undertake two invasive Wars in Favour of the Pretender, he too may be brought to the same unhappy Conviction. You may argue, Sir, with some Colour of Reason, perhaps, of Foreign Alliances, Strong Confederacies, Standing-Armies, and Fleets at Sea; and compute the Number of People, their Riches, and the vast Income of their Prince, and suppose 'em to be, and not to be where your Argument finds it convenient; yet there's so much Difference between
what

what a Country is able and willing to do in case of an Invasion, when 'tis apparent the War is enter'd into to preserve their Religion and Properties, and that the Money given, and the Blood that's shed, is *pro Aris & Focis*, especially in a Nation where the Prince holds the Purse, but the People give the Gelt; and what that same Country will do when they are to begin or continue a War, for which no Man in his sound Senses can give a tolerable Reason; the Difference, I say, is so wide, that your Conclusion, how specious soever, and probable it may look in the Theory, that what has happen'd in the one Case, in the other will happen too, yet in the Event will prove wrong. This is my present Notion, but for Argument-sake, if you please, we'll suppose an Army of an Hundred thousand *French*, with a Marshal of *France*, or any Body else at the Head of them, to be landed in any Place of this Island, which you shall direct. Now after the Transportation of these Forces, of which some reasonable Care shou'd be taken, I hold it advisable to enter into some Thoughts about the Ways and Means by which they shall be supply'd with fresh Men, Ammunition, Victuals, &c. for in your Argument you have not undertaken that the *English* shall furnish them with these Necessaries, nor if you had, would you have any Credit given you; neither do I find that a good Mef

of

of Money is at present lodg'd in any Garrison disfurnish'd of Men, Arms, and Powder, and upon which an Army might draw a Bill, payable at Sight. If this Provision be not made, and how it shou'd, whilst our Fleet at Sea is superior to that of the *French*, is past my Understanding; I shall suppose so much Honesty, and so much Conduct in an *English* General, at the Head of an Army of Twenty thousand Regular Forces (which in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* may easily be had) in Conjunction with the Country-Militia, or the City of *London* Train'd-Bands, tho', perhaps, the worst Soldiers in the Universe, so much *English* Blood, I say, and so much *English* Beef, I shall suppose in the one and the other, that this Force in one twelve Months time shall starve, or knock on the Head your whole *French* Army. From whence I conclude, that to exert a Foreign Alliance, and at the Rate we have done to prevent a Foreign Invasion, shew'd an unnecessary Fear; and upon the Whole, *Britain* being itself able to maintain its own Succession, there was no Occasion to call in our Neighbours, the *Dutch*, to our Aid by a particular Treaty.

If a foreign Alliance were necessary for preserving the Protestant Settlement, I believe, I shou'd agree with you that none wou'd be so proper for that Purpose, as that of the *States-General*; but till the Controversy

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verfy on the first Point, whether any be necessary, or not, is determin'd ; 'tis needless to enter into a Dispute upon the Second, which will be the best. On that account I shall pass over your next Head, and the Flowers and Finesses on Trade, to which I believe we are both Strangers, and one or other of us has been misinform'd ; and shall consider the Answers you make to the Objections alledg'd against this Treaty. The first is, That to call at every Door for Help to put our Laws in Execution, is lessening the Independency of the Crown of *Britain*. To this you reply, There's no Colour or Pretence for saying that the *Dutch* take upon 'em to execute our Laws: Now, surely, I have lost all common Sense, and common Understanding, if you don't yourself say so much in the very next Sentence ; for therein you tell us, that *Britain* will be left peaceably to execute her own Laws, if *France* does not interpose to hinder her. Supposing then *France* does interpose, the *Dutch* certainly will take upon 'em to execute our Laws, at least, will help to execute 'em, (for so your Reply ought to have been worded, if a direct Answer to the Objection) otherwise I'll venture to say there's no Colour or Pretence for this Treaty. But if, in Fact, they shou'd not aid us, in case of an Attack, which I cou'd easily believe, if they were once in Possession of the Barrier propos'd, yet the Design and Meaning of the Treaty was,

was, and the *Dutch* undertook, that they wou'd assist us to put that particular Law in Execution, or else there was no Design and Meaning in the Treaty, and the *Dutch* undertook Nothing. This is not all neither, for in the Sentence next preceding your Reply, you affirm, in very civil Language, that the Place where the Treaty pinches, is, The Execution of those Laws, and the Confirmation of that Succession. Now, if there be no Place which obliges the *Dutch* to help the Execution of those Laws, and the Confirmation of that Succession, 'tis above my Capacity to find out how any one can feel any Pinch on that Account. And if 'tis a malicious Insinuation, I'm glad to find that the honourable Persons who advis'd this Treaty, that noble Lord who transacted it, the Gentleman who writes in Defence of it, and the Treaty itself, all plainly speak the same malicious Language.

You urge farther, That this being no other than a particular League, confin'd to the two Points that are most Essential to the common Safety of both Nations, it will stand on the same Foot as all defensive Alliances do, and no more derogates from the Crown than any in general does. Mr. Boyle, in his Letter to the Lord Townsend, Nov. 8th 1709, tells his Excellency, That the *States* seem'd all along to desire, if not to insist, that the Treaty now in Question shou'd be confin'd to the Guarantee of our Succession, and the Security

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Security of their Barrier, and that the Lords of the Council thought what relates to the *Spanish Trade*, in the 15th Article, was foreign to the rest of the Treaty; and his Lordship, in his Letter of the 26th, owns this Observation to be true, and in the very Words in which Mr. Secretary had made it. Now, Sir, if you can reconcile the Opinion of the Lords of the Council, the Assertions of Mr. Boyle, and the Acknowledgments of the Lord Townshend, with your Position; you will deliver your Reader from the Temptation (which you have brought him under) of thinking there's no Regard to Truth on either side of the Question. And from hence, I think, much better than from any thing you urge to that purpose, an Account may be given, why in the Preamble to this Treaty 'tis call'd, *A Barrier against France, and others in case of an Attack, &c.* when in the Counter-Project 'tis said, *Against France only.* You may labour the Point, if that be any Diversion to you, but I can't think you'll persuade any unprejudic'd Reader, that a Barrier in general, in *Flanders*, can be of any Service to the *Dutch* against any other Enemy than *France*; but if this were so, I must say it, and with some Warmth, that he wants common Sense, or common Honesty, or both, whoever pretends, that by this Article, the *Dutch* did not intend to gain a Security against, at least, an Advantage over the *English*, there being no other State against

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whom this cou'd possibly be level'd, or in any manner useful.

But the Force of this Objection, if I rightly understood those who made it, was not such as you represent it, that a defensive Alliance in general wou'd lessen the Independency of our Crown, but that the Nature of this in particular was such, having pinn'd down the QUEEN and Parliament to the Settlement made in the *Hanover* Family, so that we were *quoad*, that Particular become absolutely Dependent on their Good-Will and Pleasure. I can't forbear observing here, that this Family by this Treaty is provided for in general Terms, and without any Limitations, and that about the Protestant Religion (for which you wou'd be thought so much concern'd) in the Articles in which the Succession is stipulated, not one Word is mention'd; so that the Princess *Sophia*, her Heirs, Successors, and Descendants (whatever Religion any of 'em hereafter may be) are in all Events to have the Crown of *Britain*. And I think, Sir, that the Addition of two Words (being Protestants) which Addition our Act of Parliament makes, wou'd have prevented the Suspensions which some ill-natur'd Persons may entertain, and have left us free of those Necessities, which future Times may on that Account create. I have been told, indeed, by Gentlemen of the long Robe, that a Person can't settle his
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Estate (unless he makes a bare Estate for Life) so that his Heir at Law shall not alien it, and yet if the Person who takes it will give Bond not to alien, an Alienation notwithstanding this Bond shall be good in Law, but the Security is forfeited : So I suppose the Treaty now in Dispute can't have made the Act of Parliament, by which the Succession is settled, so far perpetual, as that the QUEEN with the Consent of any subsequent Parliament shou'd not have it in Her Power to alter it, nor if such Alteration were made, that it wou'd not stand good in Law ; but yet this gives the *Dutch* a just Pretence to quarrel at any Alteration which shall be made, whatever our then Circumstances may require. Whether this be a good Objection to the Treaty, I say not ; but if you please to make any Answer to it, for I think you have made no Offer at it yet, I shall desire of you another besides that, that he who made it, and he who repeats it, are both against the Princess *Sophia* and her Family, for that's neither true nor an Answer.

The next Objection of which you take any Notice, is, that 'tis so much the Interest of the *Dutch* to maintain the Protestant Succession, that it needed not to have been provided for by a particular Treaty. I suppose, Sir, you will allow that one Person may think the *Dutch* to be dangerous Rivals, and formidable Neighbours,

and another that 'tis their Interest to keep the Pretender from the Crown of *Britain*, that each of 'em might have their particular Reason for their different Way of Thinking, and neither of 'em have contracted the Guilt of ill Faith, or Insincerity from laying down Matters contradictory one to the other; and I leave it yourself to judge what you are guilty of, who tax them both (those whom you are to deal with as you express it) with ill Faith and Insincerity, when your own Assertions contend that one of 'em is in the right, that is, thinks as you. Your way of arguing here, or rather of calling Names, is; one Gentleman makes one Position, a second another, and from these different Premisses they make the same Conclusions, therefore they are both Knaves and Villains; whereas, were it not that you are resolv'd to quarrel at all Adventures, you might easily discover that from either of those Suppositions one might conclude against this Treaty; one proves it to be impolitick, and the other unnecessary. But to prove the Needfulness of this Treaty, you alledge, that it may be a Preservative against Practices of an Intriguing Enemy, and the Weakness and Corruption of a Selfish Ministry; and that Nations are not so true to their Interest, as to need no Ties to bind 'em down to it. I must own I'm so dull, as not to be able to frame any Notion, how this Alliance will prevent
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the *French* from using their Artifices in Favour of the Pretender, any more than one with the Emperor of *Morocco* would do, unless in Pursuance of it, you think to prohibit all Intercourse between the Court of *Britain*, and that of *Britain*; nor what Effect this Preservative will have against an ill Ministry (the present, I suppose you mean) except you intend to invite over the *States of Holland*, or *Myn Heer Van* — with an Army, to guard *Whitehall*, and block up the Passage to *Westminster*.

Your second Allegation too, I think, proves as little to your Purpose as the former. Supposing it to be true, that Nations don't always see and follow their Interest, tho' the *Dutch* are as seldom accus'd of Blindness in that Respect, as any Nation in *Europe*, I can't find how this will make 'em see it, and the very asking their Assistance supposes you not able to force them to it. So that you have got nothing but a Right to complain of the Violation of their Contract, which I believe you think they won't pay Abundance of Regard to, when you are not able to redress yourself. I have indeed observ'd, that Treaties, especially such as are stipulated for Matters to be done in After-times, have begot Messages, Embassies, Memorials, and Remonstrances, but that ever they produc'd Armies, unless the Parties concern'd saw their Advantage in it, when Performance was call'd for, appears
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not to me. On which Account, any Thing which cou'd make the *Dutch* see that it was their Interest to assist us, when we shou'd want 'em, will lay a more effectual Obligation on 'em to grant us that Assistance, than any Treaty which compels 'em to a Matter which they are suppos'd not to see to be their Interest, when their Assistance is ask'd; and I doubt not, but the Hopes and Promises of the rest of the *Spanish-Netherlands* (not already granted to them) will rouse them out of any Supineness or Negligence, which they might affect in our Cause, more surely than any Danger they cou'd be made to apprehend to themselves, by a Popish Prince on the Throne of *Britain*, especially if they were possess'd of that Share of *Flanders*, which you have so liberally allotted to them. This Argument, indeed, goes farther, than to prove this Treaty needless, for it proves it impolitic too, and I can't forbear thinking it to be so; for it puts the *Dutch* into such a Condition, that 'tis perfectly out of our Power to render it better, and they wou'd have so little Reason to fear the *French*, or the Pretender, that they might set us, and them too, at open Defiance. You think, indeed, that we might safely trust to *Dutch* Honesty and Treaties, when it had got this additional Strength, but then you must give me Leave to think, that we shou'd not have been less Wise, if we had taken Care, that there shou'd be some-

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something besides on which we might depend. If it be their Interest to oppose the Pretender, as I will suppose at present, and that they will see it yet, if you offer to 'em *Lisle, Doway, &c.* I can easily conceive, they will soon find out the Sense of them too, and not see the other the less. And if any Thing cou'd make the Stipulation for the Protestant Succession needful, it must be the great Concessions made to the *Dutch* in the other Articles; that is, one Part of the Treaty made the other necessary, and that is to serve for a Justification of the Whole; and that's not the worst of the Case neither, for the same Thing which has made it needful wou'd have render'd it useless, for as soon as we lose the Influence we have in their Affairs, and the Power of obliging them, we shall immediately be abandon'd by them, notwithstanding this and twenty other Treaties to the same Purpose.

You tell us, we have gain'd this Treaty from the *Dutch* for nothing; whether that be so, shall be examin'd in the Place to which you refer the Consideration of that Point; and in the mean time, I tell you so we had need, because we have got nothing, for he must be strangely Ignorant of the Temper of a *Dutchman*, who can think that he will part with any Thing for nothing. I wish, indeed, there were no other Reason for our determining that this Treaty
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brings no Advantage to *Britain* besides this, that the *Dutch* never give any Thing without an Equivalent; but I am afraid, that upon Examination, we shall find ourselves not mov'd one Step farther now, than we were got by the Grand-Alliance. Notwithstanding the Hurry and Confusion which you surmise will be upon us (when a Contract of this Nature might become necessary) yet I don't see how this Treaty, which was made on no other Design than to prevent it, will signify any thing, for we are still left by this to a subsequent Convention. The Terms on which, and the Manner and Proportion in which we are to expect this Assistance, which are the only Matters which cou'd create any Difference between this Alliance and the others, which we were possess'd of before, are not yet adjusted, and if they ever are, no Thanks due to the then Managers.

In Haste,

Tours,

T. R.

F I N I S.